

## Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 BONN 03685 01 OF 03 071817Z

51

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 AID-20 CEA-02

COME-00 EB-11 FRB-02 CIEP-02 STR-08 TRSE-00 LAB-06

SIL-01 SAM-01 OMB-01 SAB-01 IO-14 ACDA-19 SCI-06

FEA-02 INT-08 AF-10 DRC-01 /200 W

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O 071759Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0938

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 03685

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, GW, US, EEC

SUBJECT: FRG PRESS REACTION TO LATEST DISPUTE BETWEEN  
U.S. AND EC NINE

BEGIN SUMMARY: ALL MAJOR DALIES CARRY STORIES IN MARCH  
7 EDITIONS RECOUNTING U.S. ANNOYANCE OVER DECISION OF  
EC NINE ON COOPERATION WITH ARAB COUNTRIES. STORIES ARE  
FOR THE MOST PART ANALYTICAL REPORTS WHICH ATTEMPT TO  
PROVIDE BACKGROUND ON LATEST EC DECISION AND ON U.S.  
REACTION, RECALLING FRG'S EFFORTS AT COPENHAGEN EC  
SUMMIT AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO INFLUENCE OTHERS, ABOVE ALL  
FRANCE, TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF U.S. SUBSTANTIVE CONCERNS,  
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PAGE 02 BONN 03685 01 OF 03 071817Z

THEY GENERALLY STRESS THAT U.S. NOW MORE CONCERNED ABOUT  
PROCEDURAL ASPECTS (LACK OF ADEQUATE ADVANCE

CONSULTATION) THAN ABOUT SUBSTANCE. THEY NOTE THAT FRG APPEARS TO BE SLIPPING INTO UNWELCOME ROLE OF INTER-MEDIARY BETWEEN U.S. AND FRANCE. THEY REPORT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINATION TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES IF POSSIBLE BY SEEKING TO IMPROVE CONSULTATION THROUGH TRADITIONAL CHANNELS AND, PERHAPS, BY INVITING PRESIDENT NIXON TO COME TO EUROPE. BONN "GENERAL ANZEIGER" HAS LEAD EDITORIAL ENTITLED "EUROPE OF TEN?" WHICH SUGGESTS THERE MAY AFTER ALL BE SOMETHING TO FRENCH FEARS THAT U.S. WANTS PERMANENT RIGHT OF INTERVENTION AND VETO IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. END SUMMARY.

1. "FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG" (FAZ), IN LEAD ARTICLE BY HANS ACHIM WESELOH, STATES THAT THE U.S. REACTION TO LATEST EC MOVE, AS CONTAINED IN STATE DEPARTMENT'S STATEMENT, PROVIDES EVIDENCE OF HOW HARD IT IS FOR FRG TO MEDIATE BETWEEN U.S. AND FRANCE. U.S. CRITICISM, ACCORDING TO ARTICLE, IS DIRECTED MORE TOWARDS PROCEDURE THAN TOWARD THE SUBSTANCE OF THE EUROPEAN DECISION ON COOPERATION WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES. NEVERTHELESS, WESELOH SAYS, AN UNCOMFORTABLE FEELING PREVAILS IN BONN THAT THE EMPHASIS ON PROCEDURE IMPLIES MORE PROFOUND PROBLEMS, GIVEN THE U.S. VIEW THAT WASHINGTON SHOULD BE CONSULTED IN ADVANCE AND THE FRENCH VIEW THAT SUCH ADVANCE CONSULTATION WOULD AMOUNT TO GRANTING THE U.S. THE STATUS OF A TENTH PARTICIPANT IN THE PROCESS OF EC POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS. THE EFFECT IS TO PUT THE FRG IN A POSITION BETWEEN PARIS AND WASHINGTON. ACCORDING TO WESELOH, BONN HAD THOUGHT THAT U.S. SUBSTANTIVE CONCERNS ABOUT EC-ARAB CONTACTS -- THAT THEY WOULD INTERFERE WITH U.S. PEACE-MAKING EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THAT THEY MIGHT SABOTAGE THE GOALS OF THE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE -- HAD ALREADY BEEN DEPRIVED OF FORCE AS A RESULT OF GERMAN EFFORTS AT THE EC SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN COPENHAGEN, SINCE THE GERMANS HAD SUCCEEDED THERE IN PERSUADING OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EC, INCLUDING FRANCE, THAT THESE SUBJECTS SHOULD BE LEFT OUT OF THE EC-ARAB DIALOGUE. THE ARTICLE STATES THAT FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL MADE THIS POINT TO THE SECRETARY

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PAGE 03 BONN 03685 01 OF 03 071817Z

WHEN HE WAS IN BONN, BUT GOES ON TO NOTE THAT THE AMERICANS NEVERTHELESS REGARD THE PROSPECTIVE EC-ARAB DIALOGUE WITH "MIXED FEELINGS". BUT THE AMERICANS, WESELOH SAYS, COULD NOT FAIL TO REALIZE THAT "EUROPE CANNOT SIMPLY LEAVE THE UNIFYING ARAB WORLD TO ITSELF." WESELOH SAYS THAT THE EC STATES INTEND TO ISSUE AN INVITATION TO PRESIDENT NIXON IN ORDER TO PUT AN END TO UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S EUROPEAN TRIP, WHICH IS DESIRED BY BOTH SIDES. SCHEEL IS TO TAKE SOUNDINGS WITH THE AMERICANS AS TO WHEN THE PRESIDENT COULD ACCEPT

AN INVITATION TO VISIT BRUSSELS

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PAGE 01 BONN 03685 02 OF 03 071821Z

45

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

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SIL-01 SAM-01 OMB-01 SAB-01 IO-14 ACDA-19 SCI-06

FEA-02 INT-08 AF-10 DRC-01 /200 W  
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O 071759Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0939

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 03685

2. "SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" SAYS THAT THE FRG EXPECTS TO  
HEAR MORE "CRITICAL NOISES" FROM WASHINGTON IN THE NEXT  
FEW DAYS, FOR WHICH THE STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN'S  
STATEMENT OF MARCH 5 WAS ONLY A FORETASTE. ARTICLE SAYS  
THAT THE SECRETARY'S REACTION, WHEN SCHEEL INFORMED HIM  
OF THE EC DECISION, WAS "VERY FORMAL AND COOL". THIS  
WAS ALL THE MORE DISAPPOINTING FOR BONN, THE PAPER SAYS,  
BECAUSE THE GERMANS THOUGHT THEY HAD SPOKEN FRANKLY AND  
IN A FRIENDLY MANNER WITH THE SECRETARY AND BECAUSE  
SCHEEL THOUGHT THAT THE RESULTS OF THE EC DELIBERATIONS  
UNCLASSIFIED  
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PAGE 02 BONN 03685 02 OF 03 071821Z

WERE GOOD. THESE RESULTS, WHICH EXCLUDED EUROPEAN INTERFERENCE IN MIDDLE EASTERN PEACE EFFORTS AND IN THE FIELD OF ENERGY POLICY, WERE ACHIEVED AT GERMAN INITIATIVE PRECISELY BECAUSE THE GERMANS AGREED THAT EUROPEAN INVOLVEMENT IN THESE AREAS VIS-A-VIS THE ARAB WORLD COULD INDEED INTERFERE WITH AMERICAN EFFORTS. IN ADDITION, THE GERMANS HAD BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN FRENCH AGREEMENT, DURING JOBERT'S VISIT ON MARCH 1, NOT TO NAME A SPECIFIC DATE FOR A MEETING OF EC AND ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS. AS FOR THE PRESENT INTENTIONS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, THE ARTICLE STATES: "THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT...WOULD NOW LIKE TO TRY TO WORK OUT A CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE GIVEN FACTS OF THE SITUATION. IT MUST, IN THE VIEW OF THE BONN GOVERNMENT, TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE FACT THAT THE EUROPEANS ARE DEPENDENT UPON THE AMERICANS MILITARILY AND IN TERMS OF SECURITY POLICY. ALSO, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO CARRY ON A COORDINATED ENERGY POLICY WITHOUT INCLUDING THE LARGEST ECONOMIC POWER IN THE WORLD. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE AMERICANS CANNOT ESCAPE RECOGNIZING THAT THE EUROPEANS CANNOT LEAVE THE ARAB STATES ENTIRELY TO THEMSELVES. BONN DOES NOT, HOWEVER, WANT TO USE ANY EXTRAORDINARY MEANS TO IMPROVE CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE U.S., BUT RATHER WISHES TO PROCEED ALONG THE LINES OF 'CLASSICAL DIPLOMACY'."

3. "DIE WELT" GIVES SIMILAR ACCOUNT OF BONN'S INTENTIONS. ARTICLE NOTES SECRETARY KISSINGER'S COOL RECEPTION OF SCHEEL'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE EC DECISION AND STATES THAT THE AMERICAN CRITICISM TO WHICH THIS DECISION HAS BEEN SUBJECTED IS IN STRIKING CONTRAST TO THE FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE WHICH PREVAILED DURING THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH SCHEEL AND BRANDT IN BONN. THIS ARTICLE, LIKE SEVERAL OTHERS, SAYS THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE ATTEMPTED TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THAT THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT IS NOT DIRECTED PRIMARILY AT THE FRG. ARTICLE STATES THAT GOVERNMENT CIRCLES IN BONN TAKE THE FUNDAMENTAL VIEW THAT "BILATERAL EXCHANGES OF 'OIL FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION' WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO THE END OF THE LIBERAL WORLD ECONOMY. FOR THIS REASON BONN SEEKS A WORLDWIDE

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PAGE 03 BONN 03685 02 OF 03 071821Z

SETTLEMENT OF THE ENERGY QUESTION TO INCLUDE ALL INDUSTRIALIZED STATES AND ALL PRODUCERS OF OIL AND RAW MATERIALS."

4. THERE FOLLOWS TRANSLATION OF TEXT OF EDITORIAL IN "GENERAL ANZEIGER". BEGIN TEXT:

WHEN WASHINGTON CRITICIZES THE ALLEDGEDLY SO INADEQUATE

WILLINGNESS OF THE EUROPEANS TO CONSULT, IT IS NOT AT ALL CONCERNED ABOUT EUROPE'S DIALOGUE WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES. DURING HIS VISIT TO BONN, SECRETARY KISSINGER HIMSELF EXPRESSLY AFFIRMED THE NECESSITY OF THE EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTION TO STABILIZATION IN THE NEAR EAST. HIS CONCERNS THAT PLANNED EUROPEAN-ARAB TALKS COULD BURDEN AMERICAN PEACE EFFORTS AND MAKE MORE DIFFICULT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF NEW ARRANGEMENTS IN THE ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS SECTORS HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF ANY BASIS BY THE DECISIONS OF THE NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS. PRECISELY ON THIS POINT, THE EUROPEAN-AMERICAN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HAS PROVEN ITSELF.

THUS, THERE ARE OTHER REASONS FOR THE LATEST MOVE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WHICH APPEARS TO BURDEN QUITE UNNECESSARILY THE CONCLUDING PHASE OF CONSULTATIONS ON A DECLARATION CONCERNING THE FUTURE FORM OF EUROPEAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS. WHEN KISSINGER, INSTEAD OF BEING SATISFIED WITH THE USUAL METHODS OF DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE, INDICATES A DESIRE TO INSTITUTE NEW CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES, HE STRENGTHENS THE SUSPICION THAT HE IS AIMING AT AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT ATLANTIC FUTURE THAN ARE HIS EUROPEAN ALLIES. FRENCH

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PAGE 01 BONN 03685 03 OF 03 071834Z

67

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07

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SIL-01 SAM-01 OMB-01 SAB-01 IO-14 ACDA-19 SCI-06

FEA-02 INT-08 AF-10 DRC-01 /200 W

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O 071759Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0940  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION BERLIN  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 03685

CONCERNS, WHICH UNTIL NOW HAVE NOT BEEN TAKEN ENTIRELY  
SERIOUSLY IN OTHER EUROPEAN CAPITALS, THUS ACQUIRE  
GREATER SIGNIFICANCE.

IN BONN, AS ELSEWHERE, THEY WERE INCLINED TO SMILE  
MALICIOUSLY IN THE FACE OF THE PERSISTENT  
FRENCH DEMAND THAT THE WORD "PARTNERSHIP" COULD NOT BE  
USED IN THE PLANNED EUROPEAN-AMERICAN DECLARATION.  
THUS, THE GERMANS PROPOSED AS A COMPROMISE THE  
EMOTIONALLY CHARGED FORMULATION ABOUT A "COMMUNITY WITH  
A COMMON DESTINY" IN ORDER TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF  
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PAGE 02 BONN 03685 03 OF 03 071834Z

FRENCH FEARS OF AMERICAN DOMINATION. NOW, THE FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT IS NO LONGER PREPARED TO ASCRIBE TO PARIS  
ALONE THE BLAME FOR THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH HAVE ARISEN  
IN DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF "EQUALITY" IN THE EUROPEAN-  
AMERICAN DIALOGUE.

NO EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT WOULD DISAGREE WITH THE POINT  
THAT THE U.S. DEFENDS INTERESTS OF ITS OWN IN THE OLD  
WORLD AND THAT THE LEADING MILITARY ROLE OF WASHINGTON  
CREATES CERTAIN DEPENDENCIES. BUT PRECISELY THIS STATE  
OF AFFAIRS MAKES ADDITIONAL CONSULTATIVE MECHANISMS,  
ALONG WITH MANY TIES WHICH ALREADY EXIST, APPEAR  
UNNECESSARY -- UNLESS WASHINGTON REALLY WANTS TO ASSURE  
ITSELF OF LASTING PREDOMINANCE BY ESTABLISHING ITSELF,  
QUIETLY AS IT WERE, AS THE TENTH PARTNER IN EUROPE.  
BONN TOO REGARDS THE FUTURE EUROPE AS AN EQUAL SECOND  
PILLAR OF THE ALLIANCE. THE MODEL OF THE ATLANTIC  
COMMUNITY WHICH KISSINGER APPEARS TO HAVE IN MIND IS  
NOT RECONCILABLE WITH THIS.

THUS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AUTOMATICALLY ACQUIRES THE  
ROLE OF INTERMEDIARY WHICH NATO SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS  
ASCRIBED TO IT OWING TO THE SPECIAL GERMAN RELATIONSHIP  
TO FRANCE AND TO THE U.S. NOW, HAVING FOUGHT -- WITH

UNDENIABLE SUCCESS -- FOR SOME  
UNDERSTANDING IN PARIS FOR LEGITIMATE AMERICAN CONCERNS,  
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SEES ITSELF COMPELLED TO ADVISE  
WASHINGTON AGAINST ITS EXAGGERATED DEMANDS. THESE ARE  
OF A NATURE TO PULL THE FLOOR OUT FROM UNDER AN ATLANTIC  
RELATIONSHIP DIRECTED TOWARD THE FUTURE AND BASED ON  
TRUST AND THEY COULD TURN EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY IN A  
DIRECTION WHICH KISSINGER CERTAINLY DOES NOT WANT. END  
TEXT.  
HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESS COMMENTS, FOREIGN RELATIONS, SOVEREIGNTY, NEWSPAPERS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, UNGA RESOLUTIONS, EXPLOITATION (NATURAL RESOURCES), VOTI NG ABSTENTIONS, BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 07 MAR 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974BONN03685  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** n/a  
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**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740362/aaaacfkn.tel  
**Line Count:** 341  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 7  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 11 JUL 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <11 JUL 2002 by elbezefj>; APPROVED <17 JUL 2002 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FRG PRESS REACTION TO LATEST DISPUTE BETWEEN U.S. AND EC NINE  
**TAGS:** PFOR, GE, XF, US, EEC, EC-NINE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005